

Tras. Annals

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S E C O N D
L E T T E R

To the Right Honourable

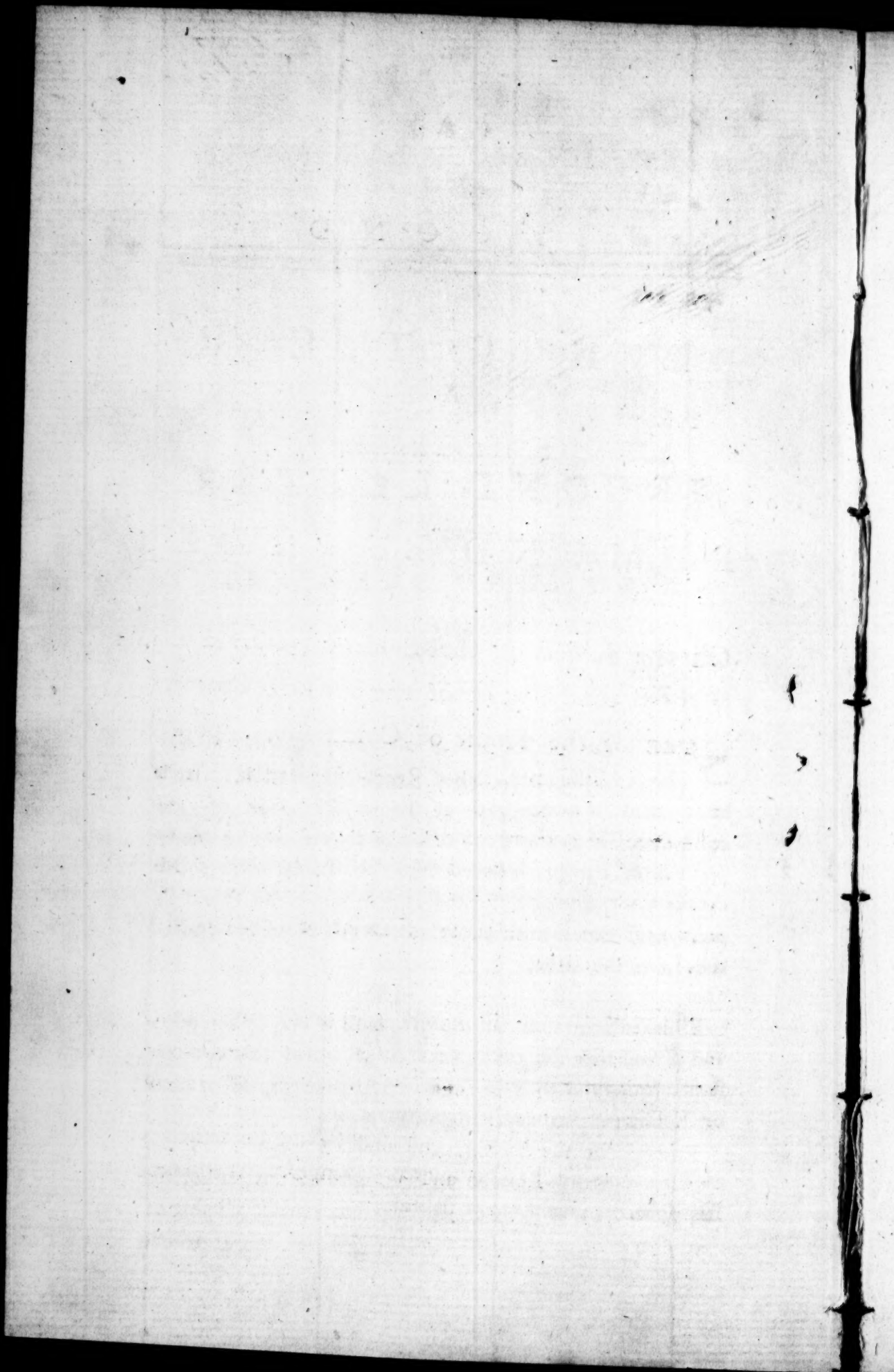
EDMUND BURKE, Esq;

On the Subject of the Evidence referred to in
the Second Report of the SELECT COMMIT-
TEE of the House of Commons, appointed
to enquire into the State of Justice in the
Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orreffa.

With a compleat refutation of every Paragraph of the Letter
of Mr. Philip Francis, to the Court of Directors of the
East India Company, copied from No. 7, of the Appen-
dix to the said Report,

Printed for the Author, and sold by the Booksellers of
London and Westminster.

MDCCLXXXII.



A

SECOND LETTER

TO EDMUND BURKE, *E/q.*

S I R,

SINCE the publication of my letter to you, on the subject of the execution of Rajah Nundcomar, I have been asked in what part of the former report of the committee, it appeared in evidence that it was by many persons at Bengal, believed that the Rajah lost his life on political principles, for that it was not to be found in page 59 of the former report as referred to in my quotation from the latter.

This information set me to examine the first report, and I find that the only parts in it where this circumstance is mentioned is in page 57 and page 58, as printed by J. Evans, No. 32, Paternoster-Row.

This re-examination of the fact, and of the authority, has opened a new scene of investigation, the developing of which

which, will shew very plainly on what flight grounds, and for what particular purpose the insinuations have been taken up, and brought forward in the last report.

I have been told and otherways informed, that my eagerness to vindicate the Governor General of Bengal, together with the warmth of my temper, had hurried me into some personalities which had obscured my agreement, and weakened it very much.

This remark having its foundation in truth, has hurt me a good deal, not on account of the men themselves, but that a good cause should be hurt by an injudicious advocate. But as I have yet abundant materials unapplied, I once more take the liberty to address you on the subject; by keeping to facts and argument and leaving men to their own feelings, I hope to reclaim all the moderate to my side of the question.

The present report refers to the last for the evidence, which the committee desires may be applied to, in justification of their new doctrine of policy.—To that let us go, and fairly state the grounds they have gone upon, to the application of which I have so strongly objected.

The causes of the trial, condemnation, and execution of the Rajah Nundcomar, being part of the duty of the committee, it appears that seven different gentlemen were called before them to be examined on that head: the two first were members of the committee, Messrs. Rouse and Farrer. Mr. Mills and Mr. Price, two very old Free Merchants, who had resided many years in Bengal. Mr. Baber, a company's servant, and one of the provincial Revenue Chiefs, Major James Rennell, the company's surveyor

surveyor general, and Capt. Cowe, a military officer in the company's army.

The first five give their evidence clear and distinct, all agreeing in the same points, that the Rajah's suffering so ignominious a death surprised the people much, as it was contrary to their ideas of justice, that a man of his rank and high cast of religion should suffer capitally for what they deemed a venal offence. Not one single word is said about political influence, by any one of the first six gentlemen, nor does it appear that Capt. Cowe had such an idea in his head, untill it had been introduced there by the Novel, and singular question put to him by some one member of the committee.

The fair way is to give his evidence at length, and to reason on the singularity of it afterwards.

I have taken it from J. Evans's publication, page 57 and 58, it is as follows :

“ Capt. Cowe being again examined by your committee,
 “ was asked whether he was at Calcutta at the time of
 “ the proceedings against Nundcomar; and at the time
 “ of his execution, said he was, during the whole of the
 “ time, being asked. if any criminal prosecution had been
 “ commenced against him before that indictment for
 “ forgery? he said none that he had heard of. Being
 “ asked, what was the opinion of the natives concern-
 “ ing that proceeding, whether they thought it political,
 “ or done in the ordinary course of justice. Said, he be-
 “ lieved there was a great diversity of opinions; that
 “ many thought it was done from political motives.—
 “ Others in the ordinary course of justice, according to
 the

“ the laws of England, being asked, what was the cha-
 “ racter of the Rajah Nundcomar among the natives ?
 “ Said, that he was considered at a man of understand-
 “ ing, but much addicted to litigation, and in general
 “ thought a designing artful man ; that he never heard
 “ any thing farther against his moral character. Being
 “ asked, whether his prosecution did not give general
 “ satisfaction to the natives, as being the means of bring-
 “ ing to justice a criminal, who had been a long time
 “ protected from it by his power and artifices ? Said,
 “ he never heard that it had given satisfaction, except
 “ to few, who might have viewed it in a political light.
 “ Being asked, whether he had not heard that the offence
 “ for which Nundcomar was tried, was committed several
 “ years before the trial ? He said, he always understood
 “ it had been committed for many years before the trial.
 “ Being asked, if he had an opportunity to make any
 “ observations concerning the execution of Nundcomar ?
 “ Said he had, that he saw the whole, except the imme-
 “ diate act of execution. From the parapet of the new
 “ fort, not quite half a mile from the place of execution,
 “ there were eight or ten thousand people assembled ; who
 “ at the moment the Rajah was turned off, dispersed sud-
 “ denly crying, Ah-Baup-aree, leaving nobody about the
 “ gallows but the sheriff and his attendance, and a few
 “ European spectators. He explains the term of Ah-Baup-
 “ aree, to be an exclamation of the black people, upon
 “ the appearance of any thing very alarming, and when
 “ they are in great pain : that they did not think he would
 “ be put to death till he was actually executed. That
 “ many of them even ran into the river, from the terror
 “ at seeing a Bramin executed in that ignominious manner.
 “ That the circumstance of his execution was received
 “ with great horror by all the natives, as well as most
 of

“ of the Europeans ; who, in general, thought it a hard
 “ case. Being asked, if the natives in general were not
 “ satisfied with the introduction of the rigor of the
 “ English penal statute law, as tending to secure credit
 “ and fidelity in dealings ? Said, as far as he ever under-
 “ stood, quite the reverse.—Then being asked, whe-
 “ ther equity and impartiality of the supreme court in that
 “ business, did not strike forcibly upon the minds of the
 “ natives, and impress them with a strong idea of the
 “ wisdom and justice of the English laws, and a desire
 “ of having them extended for the general benefit ? He
 “ informed your committee, that it rather impressed
 “ them with an unfavourable idea of our justice and
 “ equity ; and that he never heard they, by any means,
 “ wished to have them extended. Being asked, if the
 “ natives knew for what purpose the supreme court had
 “ been established ? He said, he believed at first they did
 “ not properly understand it, but that by this time, they
 “ are perfectly acquainted with the nature of its institution.
 “ Being asked, if it was not generally given out, that
 “ this court was instituted for their protection and their
 “ defence, against the abuses of European authority ? He
 “ said, it was, that he remembered hearing Mr. Le Maistre,
 “ one of the judges from the bench, express’d his surprise,
 “ that so many people applied for redress to the country
 “ courts, when they might depend upon as good justice
 “ or better, in the supreme court of judicature ; and that
 “ these were his very words. Being asked, if the natives
 “ considered the proceedings against Nundcomar, and his
 “ execution, as answering the ends of the institution of
 “ the court in the protection of the natives ? He said,
 “ he did not believe they did. Being asked, whether they
 “ did not consider the execution, as having a tendency to
 “ encourage them to prefer complaints against Europeans
 in

“ in authority? He said he believed not. Being asked,
 “ whether an address to the judges was not signed by several
 “ of the natives, commending their conduct in the
 “ office, and particularly dwelling upon the character of
 “ mercy? He said, that he has seen an address from the
 “ Armenian merchants, printed, which, he believes was
 “ given to the judges. Being asked, whether that address
 “ contradicted the sentiments of the natives, which he
 “ had just now mentioned? He said it did. Then being
 “ asked, whether he looked upon that address, or the conversation
 “ he had heard, as most truly expressive of the
 “ genuine sense of the natives? He said, he believed the
 “ conversation he had heard, to be the most expressive;
 “ and that the address does by no means express their
 “ sense. Being asked, if he recollected any instance of
 “ mercy, to which that address alluded? He said none,
 “ except the release of the felons, and several who had
 “ been under sentence of death in the prison at Calcutta
 “ for capital offences. Then being asked, if any particular
 “ circumstances of hardship had been represented to the
 “ judges? he said, he did not know that there had, before
 “ the arrival of the judges. And being asked, whether
 “ an opinion had prevailed, that the construction or
 “ execution of criminal law had been severe and immoderate?
 “ he said, he never had heard any such opinion.”

Messrs. Rous, Farrer, Mills, Price and Rennell, had
 been examined before, Capt. Cowe, and Mr. Baber was
 examined after him, not one of the other gentlemen mentioned
 a syllable of policy, or hinted that such an idea had ever
 been conceived. Capt. Cowe was going on, in the same line.
 When he was asked by some one of the gentlemen of the
 committee, “ What was the opinion of the
 “ natives

“ natives concerning that proceeding, whether they thought
 “ it political or done in the ordinary course of justice.”

I have read the whole report over and over, to find out if it was possible what could give cause for such a question, no such had been put to any one of the proceeding five evidence, nor to the one which followed, and candour obliges me to conclude, that, it was not the effect of design, but meer matter of accident. The answer goes to declare what was very true, that party divisions, in the settlement had begot different opinions, in the inhabitants, but not the least inference can be drawn from Capt. Cowe's evidence; that this supposed political interposition, applied to any particular description of men, either to the judges, the majority of the civil government, or to the minority.

The exclamation Au-Baup-a-ree, and the saying the people run into the river on the Rajah's being turned off, conveyes improper notions to the mind of the reader, and in candour they ought to have been explained why the gentlemen of the committee, who understand the Hindoo manners and customs did not do it, I will not trust myself to say for fear I should again touch sore places; but the fact is as follows: had a calf been knocked on the head they would have done the same; the exclamation cannot be rendered into English, the idioms of the languages is so very different; but if an Hindoo was to see a house on fire; to receive a smart flap on the face; break a China basin; cut his finger; see two Europeans boxing, or a sparrow shot, he would call out Au-Baup-arce.

When the Rajah was hanged, it was to them a very extraordinary sight, and it was natural for Hindoos to suppose, that it in some degree defiled them. The remedy was at hand, near to the gallows where the Rajah suffered, runs a branch of the river Ganges, the waters of which river, in the ideas of all the Hindoo nations, cleanse them from every kind of impurity. Had a common pickpocket suffered; had a European spit by accident on the outer edge of their outer garment; had they touched any dead animal, or fifty thousand other the most trifling causes would have induced them to go and purify themselves in the Ganges. At all hours of day and night, at all seasons of the year thousands of them are seen, men, women and children mingled together, indiscriminately dabling in the river to purge away the impurities of body, soul, and garment, at the same instant, and by the same means.

With such an explanation as this I have given, (and I have with me, the unanimous opinions of all the authors, who have written on, and of every man in this kingdom who knows the least of the manners and customs of the Hindoos.) How ridiculous does the above dismal story of Capt. Cowes appear; and how shall we account for five or six members of the committee, giving up such cock and bull accounts, to terrify our women and children, it can do no more, for surely no man of the least intelligence can suppose the people run into the river from terror and dismay, not they truly. Hanging a Bramin was a novelty to be sure, but if five hundred such rascally Bramins as Maha Rajah Nundcomar had suffered the same death,

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not an Hindoo among them would have gone without his dinner on the occasion.

They are by no means a sanguinary set of people, their religion teaches them, not to take away the life of a fly wantonly, nor will they do it, this in many instances, they carry to what we should call a ridiculous extreme. Yet these people have laws among them, which would shock the most hardened Europeans. They impale alive wretches who have twice been detected in robbing in boats on the river: they scourge to death for theft, and they mutilate, by cutting of the hand, the ears, or the nose, for house-breaking or robberies on the road. Nothing can be so erroneous, or liable to mislead the judgment so much as comparing some few particular laws and customs of one country, with a few of those of another. The Hindoos, would no more change their own code, such as it is, with Englishmen, than Englishmen would change with them. Their's suit best with their climate, is interwoven with their religion, and they have been possessed of it ages before the people of this kingdom knew whether they dwelt on an island, or on the continent.

But to return to our subject, this single evidence of Capt. Cowe, which grew out of the oddity of the question, without which it never would have entered his head, to have amused the committee with such an idle tale, of whimsical political interference; nor do I believe that it was more thought of by any one member of the committee, otherwise when the Bengal judicial bill was introduced into the

House of Commons, how came it to pass without any mention having been made, or even a hint started that it would be improper to leave in possession of the civil and judicial powers at Calcutta, monsters, who had been guilty of such an infamous conspiracy. All the public evidence that has been yet produced was known then : If there is private information it ought not to be held back from the public eye. If it is held back, and either the judges or Governor-general Hastings suffer in the mind of one single fellow subject, male or female, from the inferences held up in the report of the committee. It is a mode of punishment, unknown to the laws of the land, and not to be justified on any principles but such as are adopted at the inquisition, and no man can say whose turn it shall come to next, to have his honour arraigned. There is another committee, who deal more candidly, facts are produced and the supposed culprit is candidly informed that attempts will openly and fairly be made to fix criminality upon him, but that every assistance will be given him to defend himself, and no advantage taken of popular clamour to prejudice his cause ; had I a brother in such a situation, sharp as the fraternal feelings might pierce my soul, I should bow to the ground in reverence to the justice of my country. I would sooth him in his misfortunes as the angel of the Lord did our first-parent, and comfort him in the same words as our immortal poet uses, in a similar situation to that first child of human misery : “ Go thy ways in peace, “ the world is all before thee, where to seek a place of rest “ and providence thy guide.”

The singularity of the case before me, and the uncommon hardship the supposed criminal will suffer, if any further

ther steps shall be taken to urge the vengeance of the house against them, not only unheard in their own defence, but even uninformed of the charge, induces me to endeavour to draw the attention of the House of Commons, and the public to this extraordinary attempt of the committee.

Between the return of the first report, on which the legislature had acted, and the introduction of the second, in which the curious insinuations are presented for the consideration of the public. Mr. Philip Francis arrives, who, finding that the Directors of the East India company treated him as he most certainly deserved, not only for penning his insolent letter to them at his leaving Bengal, but also for his sending it to be published in all the daily papers. Full of spleen and malice he applies to the committee, sitting at Westminster, to countenance his abominable falsehoods. Had I been chairman of that committee, most certainly I would at least have been neuter in that whole business. It rested with him not to engage the passions of the awful senator, in the paltry politicks of the East India proprietor. When the devil shews his cloven foot, in vain does he attempt to lead us into vice, with the fiend's song or angels face. Let the General harangue to all eternity, not one man will be convince that he is actuated by virtue or from public good in the present business; whether you Sir, are subject to the same conclusion I shall leave others to determine, but I hesitate not one moment to declare that to this cause, and to this cause alone we owe the reference back, to the former report, for one solitary piece of evidence, (extracted, not given) in justification of the opinion implied of there having been more of policy

policy then of justice in the condemnation and execution of Rajah Nundcomar.

I have said a great deal in my former letter to you, Sir, on the *crooked politicks*, and unfounded assertions of this genuine knight of the post, and in some degree I stood pledged to dissect his letter, No. 7, of your Appendix. Indeed I have such a fertile field before me of instances of this gentleman's want of candour and disregard of truth, that I am at a loss from what part of his literary productions to cull my examples.

With your permission, and in order to keep in view a former assertion of mine, viz. that he entered and left Bengal in the same gloomy habit of soul, predicting the sudden and absolute ruin of that kingdom. I will present you with two instances only from the first letter of the majority, to the Court of Directors.

“ 37th. Paragraph of a letter from the majority at Bengal, to the Court of Directors, dated the 3d of December, 1774, about six weeks after the arrival of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, at Calcutta.

“ On this everlasting theme of Mr. Hastings, we shall
 “ only for the present observe in general, that under any
 “ tolerable form of government the effects of the famine
 “ must long since have ceased to be felt in a country where
 “ nature asks nothing of the governing power but not to
 “ study to resist and defeat her operations. The world
 “ will soon see that it is oppression of the most violent and
 “ pernicious nature, which has reduced this fertile country
 “ to a state of depopulation.”

I defy

I defy even you, Sir, who I believe to have read every thing that has ever been written on government and politicks, to produce, collected together in so few words, arguments so foreign to experience to human reason and to truth. And introduced for no other purpose, than to lead the mind off from a fact, which nobody can deny, to daring assertions which nobody will believe.

The severity of the famine was felt in the summer of the year 1770, it swept away a full fourth of the labouring people of the provinces of Bengal. The letter from which the above paragraph has been taken, was written in the beginning of December 1774, a little more than four years afterwards.—Mr. Hastings's argument led to prove that one cause of the collections falling short, was the vast number of the cultivators of the lands, (from the crops of which the revenues arise) having been swept away by the famine. If it should please God, in order to punish us for our manifold sins to visit this kingdom, with so dreadful a calamity, as in one summer, to carry off one quarter part of the working people of this country, and the revenues fall short in consequence. Would you, Sir, dare to insult the understanding, and play upon the feelings of the house, by assuring them, that the present evils did not arise from the famine, but intirely from the mismanagement of the former administration?

If, as they affirm, the government of Bengal had a tendency to the depopulation of this country, how as it came about, that the famine and government together hath not yet quite extirpated the people and destroyed the revenues. Mr. Hastings had been but a little more then two years in the government of Bengal, when the majority arrived, supposing him to have been the whole time employed,

as they would have us to believe in devising the means to finish what the famine had begun, two years before he came from Madras, and laid waste the whole kingdom. If they establish this fact, will it not bare hard on several others of theirs, which may be found on the company's books, from November 1775, to September 1776? When the evils returned with redoubled violence, by the power reverting into the hands of the Governor General, by the death of Colonel Monson.

In the short space of time, which elapsed from the failing of the last ships in April, 1775, (when they rested their cause on the strength of the accusations, (how collected, I have shewn) and sent home, as being quite sufficient to bring about the recall of Mr. Hastings) to the death of Colonel Monson. Their letters to their honourable masters, the East India company, and to the ministry, took a different turn. They had by their presence restored health, peace and plenty to the country, and liberty to the very few inhabitants they found. "The steady power which had been employed to resist and defeat nature's operations." They had effectually removed, and people sprung up together with rice in the fields spontaneously. These poor young naked natives they clothed, the hungry were fed, and the golden age had returned so suddenly, that every body was lost in rapture, and joyous amazement; and all this had been brought about by their having found in themselves those men, "by whose future services, and by what future exertion of virtue and ability such a state can be recovered. Common men are not equal to the occasion."

Unhappy Bengal, what pity that these angelick beings were not of the nature of Swift's struldbugs, but that on
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one of them dying, every thing should in the instant fall back into its former ruin and desolation. In short, if you believe your friend Mr. Francis, Chaos was come again.

I feel very unhappy that I cannot amuse myself in his golden regions, his short lived elysium, to converse a little with his beings, of a season which sprung up with his power, and could not be held back from sinking again into nothing, on the demise of Colonel Monson, it requires a pen like your own, Sir, to furnish a proper epitaph on the occasion.

No one circumstance of the conduct of Mr. Hastings in his preceding administration, was left untouched, all was pointedly condemned and execrated, in select and chosen words and phrases, in this mine Mr. Francis toiled incessantly, as I shall abundantly shew. Major Scot having trod the ground before, has disposed of the treaty of Benarras, Rohello war, King's tribute, and several other subjects, but the mine is inexhaustible, and would furnish endless materials to prove that the majority never once expected that their representations would be controverted or their assertions disputed, but depended entirely on the prejudices of the nation and the influence of the ministry, to bring about the recall of the Governor-general. The following paragraphs have been extracted from one of the first letters of the majority to the Court of Directors.

“ Paragraph 70. The letters received by General Clavering from several of the company's military officers

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“ entrusted

" entrusted with separate commands, will be found deserv-
 " ing of notice. They contain accounts of military ex-
 " peditions and hostilities carried on against a number of
 " Rajahs and Zemindars, without any authority from the
 " present government, or any direct communication to us of
 " the plan of execution of them. Most of these measures
 " appear to have been directed by the provincial chiefs of
 " Patna and Burdwan some time after our arrival here.--
 " In some places, the Rajahs are reduced to obedience,
 " and give hostages.—In many others, the villages are
 " burnt, and the corn cut down and destroyed. Ensign
 " Scott, having received orders from the Chief of Patna,
 " to seize or expel Rajah Tuttah Shaw, pursues him into
 " Sujah Dowlah's dominions, and makes three of the
 " Vizier's subjects prisoners of war.—Captain Crawford,
 " by order of the Chief of Burdwan, entered Patcoom
 " on the 5th of last Month with six companies of Sepoys,
 " took the capital, levelled the town, and cleared the
 " country, in order to make the post tenable. On the
 " 9th, he attacks and drives the natives before him,
 " after which, *the whole country fled into the mountains.*--
 " He says, he is endeavouring to sow dissention among
 " their Chiefs, so as to induce them to submit, or enable
 " him with ease to rout them out.

Paragraph 71. " We do not pretend to determine at
 " present whether measures of this nature be necessary or
 " not; but we think it very extraordinary, that military
 " expeditions of such importance, and leading to such
 " consequences, should be undertaken, not only without
 " the

“ the orders, but without the knowledge of this board.--
 “ We are sorry to be obliged to conclude this article with
 “ declaring, that, as far as we are able to judge, the
 “ general principle which seems to have animated this
 “ government, as well with respect to the natives of the
 “ provinces as to the neighbouring states, has had too
 “ near a relation to the expressive words so often made use
 “ of *extirpate, exterminate, rout out, and annihilate.*

{Signed}

J. Clavering.

Geo. Monson.

P. Francis.

What uncandid misrepresentations have we here of necessary political measures, unavoidable in their nature, except we sit tamely down whilst a race of lawless savage Barbarians lay waste and depopulate our most fertile plains.

Though Clavering was violent, and Monson sarcastic, they were accomplished soldiers—and, I hope, strangers to the above detestable chicanery, though the language and sentiments suit Francis exactly.

Many parts of the provinces of Bengal and Bahar are bounded by thick woods and hills, rising one above another to a moderate height—several of the valleys behind the woods, and between the mountains, are inhabited by different tribes of unsocial beings, not many degrees removed from the savage life.—These banditti had, under all governments, in all periods of known time,

time, infested and laid waste the fertile cultivated plains of the above-mentioned provinces, now possessed by the East India company—Various plans had been formed, and many experiments tried, to reduce these people to order, and to cover the farmers in the adjacent plains from their mischievous devastations; which continually destroyed the inhabitants, and impeded the collections of the revenue.—By degrees, a chain of military posts had been formed on the confines of our territories, which connected with, and supported one another.—The officers commanding these posts were in general put under the directions of the civil servants superintending the collections in the district on which the post depended—others commanded partizan-corps, stationed in the hills, and acted under the immediate orders of the presidency.—Many of these commands were so distant from Calcutta, that it was indispensably necessary for the board to give general instructions, and confide a great deal in the discretionary conduct of the different collecting residents, and commanding officers. The powers of the former were not unsimilar to those anciently given to the Lords of the Marches in England, to repel by force of arms, the sudden incursions of a fierce, valiant, northern people—and the latter had such kind of orders as our modern commanders receive when intrusted by government with an expedition against a neighbouring state.

All that was intended, was the preservation of the lives and properties of the company's farmers, or (if you like it better) the king's subjects.—If this could be

be collected by moderate means and fair treaties with the Rajah's, Zemindars, and other Chiefs of the hill-people (as those motley tribes of independant free-booters are commonly called) it was so to be effected--if not--then they were to proceed by force to drive them further from our boundaries, or, if necessary, to subject them entirely to our government.—Look round the world—search into every page of antient and modern history, and inform the public, how a new sovereignty, lately acquired by conquest—part of a vast continent--and in a similar situation with the provinces of Bengal and Bahar—is by other means to be defended and maintained.

But there were orders of the East India company's which positively forbad a further extention of their dominions on that side of India: and it was for the purpose of the majority, that the necessary and unavoidable measures which had been taken in order to form a strong barrier for the safety of those dominions, should be represented in Europe as a breach of those orders, and an avaricious ambition in the late administration to obtain new provinces for the company by the force of their arms.—With what candour, and on what foundation, orders, issued to obtain the very purposes intended by the company, have been perverted by the majority, in order to criminate the conduct of the Governor General, has already been shewn.

Such were the men the late ministry provided to correct abuses, and give to the government of this deluded kingdom, candid information of the real state of the company's affairs

affairs in Asia, and I am much mistaken if the Lord Advocate, in his late much studied harangue, has not let puffey peep a little too plainly out of the bag, by giving the house to understand, what the intentions of the last ministers were with respect to India affairs, the sending out of another ship load or two of locusts, under the denomination of supervisors, to devour the remaining wine and oil of that country (unhappy) Bengal. I will hope that we have escaped that great evil, and that no more duplicates of coercive measures, or Boston Port bills are to be sent as padlocks on the Ganges, but that the time is arrived when not only the nation, but even the East India company are emancipated from their servile and dependant situation, on a venal court faction.

An honourable Baronet complimented the able advocate on his acquiring such extensive knowledge in Asiatic affairs in so short a time. Had he forgot that the man comes from the Northward and was bred a lawyer. What has he collected but words. I will venture to wager with the honourable Baronet, that if he will but send him or any other famous man of the profession, half a peck of Pagados, they will collect much better words, and more of them in his defence. His lordship strews a few laurels on the grave of that wonderful man Lord Clive, (on whose vast abilities I never think but with admiration) but I remember other orators of the same profession straining all their powers to blacken the character, and tarnish the lustre of that great hero's virtues. Is the nation never to allow a little honest praise to living worthies. Must no good man taste of fame

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in the vale of peace, shall such an incendiary as I have and shall prove Mr. Francis to be, have his works made part of the national records, and in the same volume, a stain be thrown on the spotless character of Governor-general Hastings. If forgetting the injuries done by the dead, and applauding those now forging by the living is the high road to interest in this world, and Heaven in the next. I fear, I shall stay where I am until the curtain drops, and then sink into the opposite place to Heaven. For I feel no symptoms of repentance working on my mind, and people advanced in life do not grow less obstinate by living longer.

Now, Sir, for a fair investigation into the merits of Mr. Francis' letter to the Court of Directors; their neglect of which your committee seems so extremely displeased with. I grudge such a document the paper it has already wasted, and is about to waste; but this man must be put totally to silence, and the labourers which he keeps about Debret's shop, dismissed to seek their bread by some more worthy employment, then alarming the nation with fictitious accounts of things which never existed. Abler workmen have taken the matter up in a much more honourable place, or I should never by such grubs as those have been roused from my compleat contempt for them and their master.

I have, Sir, caused the whole letter, as it stands in the Appendix, No. 7, to your report, to be copied in separate paragraphs, and under each paragraph you will find my
 remarks

remarks and observations, this I thought better then being obliged constantly to refer the reader back to the letter itself. No man knows, Sir, better than you do how necessary perspicuity is to the fully understanding what a writer means.

First

FIRST COMMITTEE,

Second Report.

APPENDIX, No. 7.

(COPY.)

Mr. Francis's Letter to the Court of Directors.

Gentlemen,

FOR your Convenience, as well as to assist my own Memory, I have thrown together, in the Paper which I have now the Honour to deliver you, short Memorandums of the principal Points on which I wish and propose to give you all the Information in my Power. Some Things will require Explanation—others may have been omitted, which I may recollect hereafter. I am ready, and shall be so at all Times, to answer any Questions you may think fit to put to me; and I hope that, if any Thing farther should occur to me, which may es-

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‘ cape my Attention, you will allow me to communicate
‘ it to you in Writing, whether as a Correction of any of
‘ the Contents of this Paper, or in Addition to them.

I have the Honour to be,

East India House, Gentlemen,

19th Nov. 1781.

Your most obedient and

humble Servant,

P. Francis.

R E M A R K.

Knowing the desponding spirit and aptitude at fiction to which Mr. Francis was so excessively prone, I cannot blame the Court of Directors for being content to hold no farther converse or connection with the man.

‘ Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Honourable the
‘ Court of Directors’.

‘ East India House, 19th November, 1781.

Par. 1. ‘ When I had the Honour of addressing the Court
‘ of Directors from St. Helena, it was not known to me,
‘ that one of the Subjects on which I proposed to give
‘ them Information would be brought so directly and ex-
‘ plicitly into their View, as I find it has been, by Mr.
‘ Hastings’s Letter to them of the 2d of December, 1780—
‘ as he therein expressly tells you, “ That they shall be
‘ under the Necessity of making a large Reduction and
‘ possibly a total Suspension of your Investment for the en-
‘ suing Year; and that he cannot pronounce what their
‘ Ability may be, beyond that Period.”— ‘ I have nothing

' to offer on that Head, but that I am thoroughly con-
 ' vinced that the Necessity to which Mr. Hastings alludes
 ' will continue to operate, if not increase, in its Force,
 ' and in all its Effects; and that no Man, who knows any
 ' Thing of the real State of India, can, even by Conjec-
 ' ture, point out a Period at which such Necessity will
 ' cease to be felt. Peace at present is not within Sight;
 ' and, whenever there shall be a Peace, I can venture to as-
 ' sure you, that the comparative State of your Expences
 ' and Resources in India, as they will then stand, will not
 ' exhibit a Surplus applicable to the Purchase of an In-
 ' vestment. It is my most serious Opinion, that you will
 ' never again have an Investment purchased with any Sa-
 ' vings from the Revenues of Bengal. I hear you have lately
 ' authorized the Governor and Council to draw upon you
 ' for Five hundred thousand Pounds, to be applied strictly
 ' to this Object:—You know, better than I do, how long
 ' the Company can support such a Demand upon their
 ' Resources in England.—As long as it can be supported,
 ' you will consult the welfare of *Bengal* at least, in lay-
 ' ing this Burden on the Company. If there be no In-
 ' vestment purchased in one Year, the landed Revenue of
 ' the Country will, in a little Time, be found to fail nearly
 ' in the same Proportion: One is, in effect, the Supply
 ' of the other.—Again, as there is properly no Trade in
 ' Bengal, or next to none, but that which is created by the
 ' Purchase of the Company's Investment, it follows, that
 ' in whatever Proportion such Investment is diminished,
 ' the Manufactures are so far forth left without Employ-
 ' ment—the Consequence of which must be, that they will
 ' either fly the Country, or turn to some other Occupa-
 ' tion,

' tion, and the Manufactures be proportionably debased, if
 ' not irrecoverably lost. — Reflections of this Nature, I
 ' presume, must have occurred to you, when you autho-
 ' rized the Governor and Council to draw upon you for so
 ' large a Sum. Whether it will be in their power to apply
 ' the Whole of it in the Manner you expect, I very much
 ' doubt:—But as a collateral Resource, applicable to the
 ' same Object, I submit to you to consider, whether the
 ' following Idea might not be adopted with Advantage,
 ' under such Corrections and Improvements as your own
 ' Judgement may suggest: That all Europeans, and others,
 ' resident in Bengal, having Money which they wish to re-
 ' mit to England, should be invited to subscribe it into the
 ' Treasury of the Board of Trade, to be applied to the
 ' Purchase of Piece Goods, Raw Silk, &c. on Condition
 ' that their Bills on the Company, at a favourable Rate
 ' of Exchange, (suppose, for Example, 2s. 1d. the Current
 ' Rupee,) shall be accepted and paid at a given Period after
 ' the Arrival of the Ships in England. This Expedient,
 ' I believe, will produce Twenty-five Lacks a Year, at
 ' least for a Year or Two; and, as far as it went, the Ex-
 ' traction of Specie from England and from Bengal would
 ' be proportionably and equally saved. I submit this merely
 ' as an Hint to your better Judgment.'

R E M A R K.

Mr. Hastings had some doubts that he should not be able
 to continue the full support of four different armies, be-
 longing to the Company, then actually in the field, and
 looking, every man of them, to Bengal for support and
 subsistence; and at the same time continue to send annually
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home to the Company an investment amounting to eight hundred thousand or a million of pounds sterling, as he had done for years past; besides supplying money and provisions to Bombay and Madras. — So circumstanced, he thought it his duty to advise the Company at home of his apprehensions, that they might not load themselves with the expence of unnecessary tonnage, in order to carry home Bengal goods which it might happen he could not spare money to provide. — Was not this justifiable and fair? has such a necessary piece of advice had any bad effects? and has not his powerful and unwearied invention of finding out resources enabled him to go on with the investment? and is it not now known, that there is, at Bengal and on its way home, more than a million and a half of Bengal goods, provided to enable the Company to make good the bills which necessity has obliged the different Presidencies to draw on the Company?

In the latter part of this first paragraph, Mr. Francis modestly offers a hint to the Court of Directors which he would hope to intrude on the world for his own. — Is it possible that this man was unacquainted with all the different ways that this his hint has been given to the Company before, so far back as to the years 1762 and 1763? I remember Mr. Gregory, now the Chairman of the Court of Directors, (whose honest name I would not presume to join with Mr. Francis, were it not in the cause of truth,) often mentioned his apprehensions, that sending of so much money out of the country as was acquired by individuals, and at the same time their supplying the foreign Companies for bills, which prevented the farther importation of bullion, would in a few years im-
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pede the necessary circulation in the provinces, and hurt the revenues, wishing some means could be devised to receive private property for notes on the Company. A few years after, Governor Verelst stated this matter fully and fairly to the Company, with his fears of the consequences, hinting at the same remedy. After that, a merchant of extensive experience stated in the Free Merchants Letters the same evil, and proposed the same remedy. — From this last Master Francis (being very fond of the man) stole the hint as he calls it: but he cannot even steal fairly. The author of the Free Merchants Letters proposes that the Company shall receive the current rupee at the exchange of two shillings, and grant bills on Europe at very long sight; and Mr. Francis well knows that all the Europeans in Bengal would very gladly pay in every sixpence they could get on such terms, with a view that they or their friends should receive it in Europe, with an interest of three per cent. even five years after paying of it into the Company's cash at Bengal. — Had he offered this exchange I should have said nothing: but his cunning (for it is all he has to serve him in place of wisdom) suggested that, though he himself had taken money out of the treasury for his wages at two shillings the current rupee, yet that he never had paid in any at less than two shillings and one penny; and he thought that, if he gave in his hint on terms less advantageous for others than he had taken for himself, somebody would take notice of it. — Thus do the wicked ever dig pits for others, and fall into them themselves: for I dare him to deny that he ever received money from the Company at more than two shillings the current rupee, or took bills on them for less than two shillings and one penny.

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Par. 2. ' The Second Point, on which I meant to offer
 ' you some Information, was the State of the Administration
 ' of Justice in Bengal; but, as I find that this Subject has
 ' been already taken up by the Legislature, and is likely to
 ' be resumed at the Meeting of Parliament, I shall not en-
 ' ter further into it in this Place.—One Fact only it is fit
 ' you should be apprized of, because it directly concerns
 ' the Company's Interest, and may require some immediate
 ' Orders from you. It is, that whereas, in many Acts and
 ' Declarations of the Governor General and Council, and
 ' more particularly, in their Declaration made to the Su-
 ' preme Court of Judicature on the 11th of March 1780,
 ' it was constantly avowed and maintained by them, that
 ' the Zemindars and other Landholders of Bengal were
 ' exclusively subject to the Jurisdiction of the Governor
 ' General and Council—the Chief Justice of the Supreme
 ' Court was nevertheless appointed, in October, 1780, by
 ' a Majority of the Board, consisting of the Governor Ge-
 ' neral and Sir Eyre Coote, against Mr. Wheeler and me, to
 ' be Superintendant or Judge of the Dewannee Adauluts,
 ' and to decide, in the last Ressort, in all Appeals from
 ' those Courts;—that the Chief Justice had accepted the
 ' Office; and, that on the 24th of October, the Governor
 ' General proposed an Allowance of 5,600 Sicca Rupees a
 ' Month for the Chief Justice, which at that Time was
 ' not voted.'

R E M A R K.

The subject of appointing the Chief-Justice to the su-
 perintendence of the Sudder Dewanne Adaulut, with a sa-
 lary adequate to the fatigue of the Duty, was proposed as
 a conciliatory measure, and referred home to the Company
 for

for their approbation. The reasons for the turn given to it in the Committee have been explained in this and my former Letter. — I shall only subjoin here, that, though Mr. Hastings has been continued in the government ten years, so oddly have things fallen out, that no plan of his has had any time given it to prove by experience its utility. At Bengal they are now acting under the sanction of the Acts of Parliament of last session, little dreaming that all is going to be new-modelled. — With such unsteadiness of government at the seat of empire, how can we expect tranquillity and ease at the extremes; which, in point of distance by sea, must be considered, with respect to the Mother Country, as antipodal.

Par. 3. ‘ These Subjects being dismissed, I come to the
 ‘ great leading Facts, which constitute the actual State of
 ‘ India, as far as I am acquainted with it—1st. The Domi-
 ‘ nions of your Ally, or rather your Vassal, the Nabob
 ‘ of Oude, are utterly, and I believe irrecoverably, ruined.
 ‘ In the Year 1776, the Revenues of that Country, and
 ‘ its Dependencies, exceeded Three hundred Lacks of
 ‘ Rupees. In April, 1780, they were so reduced, that,
 ‘ whereas the Company’s Demand on the Vizier for that
 ‘ Year, as stated by Mr. Charles Purling, amounted to
 ‘ One hundred and Twenty Lacks, and, as stated by me,
 ‘ to One hundred and Fifty Lacks, no Assignments could
 ‘ be had from the Vizier for more than Ninety Lacks,
 ‘ and he himself was reduced to the absolute Want of a
 ‘ bare Subsistence for himself and his Family. You will
 ‘ find the Particulars recorded in our Consultation of the
 ‘ 3d of April 1780. You cannot but be sensible how far
 ‘ the Fact of itself extends, and to what Consequences
 ‘ it

' it leads. I mention it now for the following Reason,
 ' out of many that are still more important. I find, that
 ' in the Report of the Committee of Proprietors, dated
 ' the 19th of December 1780, Credit is taken (under the
 ' Head of Outstanding Debts due to the Company) for
 ' Current Rupees, 25,65,989, due by Asoph ul Dowlah,
 ' Nabob of Oude, with as much apparent Confidence and
 ' Security, as if you had the Money in your Treasury in
 ' Leadenhall-Street:—Now I do assure you, that this
 ' Debt, so far from being discharged, is by this Time
 ' immoderately increased; and that it never can be dis-
 ' charged out of the Revenues of Oude, which, when I
 ' left India, were far short of being equal to the indis-
 ' pensable Establishments of that Government, and which
 ' were still declining rapidly every Day.—2d. I have good
 ' Reason to believe, that your *Ally*, the Rana of Gobub,
 ' as I find him entitled in the Governor General's Letter,
 ' is much dissatisfied with the Presence of your Troops,
 ' and with the Effects it has produced in his Country:
 ' That Major Popham was so apprehensive of being be-
 ' trayed by him to the Marattas, that he seldom or never
 ' ventured to communicate his Plan of Operations to him,
 ' and more particularly in the Instance of his Enterprize
 ' on Guawlior: And that no Part of the Subsidy due by
 ' the Treaty from the Rana, or only a very small Propor-
 ' tion of it, had been discharged. The Truth is, he is
 ' too inconsiderable, that I had hardly ever heard of his
 ' Name, before the Treaty of Alliance with him, and
 ' Guarantee of his Dominions, were proposed by the
 ' Governor General.—3d. With respect to the Rajah of
 ' Berar, you are already in Possession of my Opinion of

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‘ his Views and Disposition towards our Government, and
 ‘ of the Intent and Consequence of his keeping an Army
 ‘ stationed upon our Frontier in Cuttack. In my Letter
 ‘ of the 29th of March last, I told you that he had made
 ‘ a Demand of Money from us, for the Payment of this
 ‘ Army. I must now add it as a Fact, which I have ab-
 ‘ solute Reason to believe true, though I am not able to
 ‘ prove it, that Money, to the Amount of Three or Four
 ‘ Lacks of Rupees, was actually sent to the Commandant
 ‘ of that Army, and that a much larger Sum was pro-
 ‘ mised by the Governor General, without the Advice,
 ‘ Consent, or Knowledge, of the Council. With respect
 ‘ to the Detachment under the Command of Lieutenant
 ‘ Colonel Pearce, avowedly formed for the Purpose of
 ‘ marching through Cuttack and the Northern Circars,
 ‘ towards the Carnatic, and of co-operating with Sir Eyre
 ‘ Coote, I must inform you, that so long as the above
 ‘ Maratta Army remains upon our Frontier, the Detach-
 ‘ ment cannot move without leaving Bengal open to In-
 ‘ vasion; that, while the Marattas keep the same or any
 ‘ other situation upon our Frontier, they necessarily engage
 ‘ too much of our Force and Attention from other Ob-
 ‘ jects; which, without an actual Rupture with us, pro-
 ‘ duces many other Effects of the most avowed Hostility.
 ‘ I do not think the Governor General himself will deem
 ‘ it prudent to move Colonel Pearce’s Detachment South-
 ‘ wards, until the Danger, which may and ought to be
 ‘ apprehended from the uncertain Motions of the Rajah
 ‘ of Berar, shall be clearly and absolutely removed: He
 ‘ cannot do it, but in Contradiction to *my* Opinion, re-
 ‘ peatedly given at the Board, and which ought to hold
 ‘ good

' good as long as the State of Facts is the same: He never
 ' can obtain the Consent of Mr. Wheler, who I know is
 ' immoveably fixed in this Point: And finally, he cannot
 ' do it even with the Approbation of Sir Eyre Coote,
 ' who, though very desirous of receiving every possible
 ' Support from Bengal, did nevertheless freely admit that
 ' the Measure was not to be thought of, unless we were
 ' perfectly secure of the Maratta Army in Cuttack. You
 ' already know, that, in November 1780, the bonded and
 ' other Debts against your Treasury in Bengal, exceeded
 ' Eighty Lack of Current Rupees. You may depend
 ' upon it, that that Burthen will increase as long at least
 ' as the War continues, and as long as Money can be
 ' borrowed on any Terms.—4th. In the Report of the
 ' Committee of Proprietors, I find the bonded Debt of
 ' Bombay stated at Bombay Rupees, 35,11,955. The
 ' Fact is, that, on the 30th of April 1780, their bonded
 ' Debt amounted to Bombay Rupees, 50,89,213. Having
 ' no Means to pay the Interest of 9 per Cent. on this
 ' Debt, their Practice is to convert the Interest at the
 ' End of every Half Year, into Principal. Supposing this
 ' to be done, as I have no Doubt it has been, the Result
 ' will be, that, at the End of October 1781, their bonded
 ' Debt will amount to Bombay Rupees, 58,07,634, ad-
 ' mitting that the Debt is not otherwise encreased by an
 ' additional Loan. It is also a Fact, that, by their own
 ' Estimate, their Expences from April 1780 to April
 ' 1781, would exceed their Resources in the Sum of
 ' Rupees, 38,34,492, which of course is a Debt on the
 ' Government, whether bonded or not: The whole Bom-
 ' bay Debt, therefore, without reckoning any Thing in-
 ' curred

‘ curred since April last, must now stand at Bombay Rupees, 96,42,126, and this I believe to be very much under the Amount.’

R E M A R K.

The foregoing paragraph runs up to so many counts, as the lawyers call it, that it will be no easy matter to separate them. The first is in the true style of ruin and despondence with which Mr. Francis has at all times exercised his pen.

To this I shall only observe, that Mr. Francis and his friends were in the government of Bengal when the Visier Soujah Dowlah died; pursued what measures they pleased as to the mode of conducting the government of his country; for Mr. Bristow, the confidential friend of the majority, a very worthy and capable young man, was sent up as dry-nurse to the foolish fellow and worse than beast, Ausoph ul Dowlah, the Visier's son and successor. Nothing was or could be done, in that government, but by the orders of the majority, recommended and carried into execution by Mr. Bristow. The Idiot-Nabob's army was reformed, his household settled, his civil-list disbursements arranged, and every single circumstance adjusted, by themselves, under management of their own agent, who continued there until the beginning of 1777; when Mr. Middleton, who had been resident at the old Visier's court before their arrival, was sent by Mr. Hastings to supplant Mr. Bristow, as Mr. Bristow had been sent by the majority to supplant him. — This gentleman, well versed in all the affairs of the visier's court, continued to act about the same length of time as Mr. Bristow had acted, when Sir Eyre Coote, wishing

wishing to have Mr. Purling made the Resident, another very able servant of the Company's, well versed in the languages and modes of conducting business in Asiatic courts, was sent in the room of Mr. Middleton.

Soon after the time this last Gentleman went up, Mr. Francis states the total ruin of the country of Oude, in a style of dependance peculiarly his own. — Would it not have been candid in him to have said something of the time this great ruin commenced? or does he mean to infer that Oude, like Bengal, during the management of their agent, Mr. Bristow, flourished in all the luxury of plenty; but, the instant Mr. Middleton returned, all was ruined and destroyed? — I believe the people of this country begin to be a little too well acquainted with his monstrous stories, to believe, on his bare word, that the Vicer's dominions, during his and his friends administration, produced full three millions of pounds sterling per annum; but that, in less than three years after his party had lost the power, the Nabob and his family wanted a bare subsistence. Such an assertion is truly worthy one of the disciples of NUNDCOMAR's academy: but that does not lessen the insult offered to the House of Commons and to the nation, for imposing on them such improbable and abominable falsehoods.

2dly. The Rana of Gohud Mr. Francis never heard of before: that, as luck will have it, may be true; his enquiries led him not that way; if they had, he would have heard of that tributary prince and fifty others who inhabit the continent of India: but a man, that should set himself up for a person who understood the politics of

of Europe, and at the same time own that he never heard of the Prince of Hesse, the Elector of Hanover, Swiss Cantons, Republics of Venice, of Florence, and other small States of Italy, would not have much credit given him for his knowledge in the affairs of Europe.

Very numerous are the small States of Asia, whose situation obliges them to watch the motions of the great Potentates, and trim over, first to one, and then to the other, as interest may incline or necessity compel. But of this Mr. Francis knows nothing; nor does he seem to know, that, since the English have established themselves on that peninsula, a kind of balance of power hath imperceptibly formed itself, that will, in all human probability, on a general peace taking place, (which we may expect to hear of shortly,) be adjusted in such a manner as to secure the tranquillity of that continent for many years to come.

3dly. Whenever Mr. Francis, urging his opinion, depends on his own positive assertions, he is for ever unluckily. The detachment under Colonel Pearce did move on, and arrived safe on the Coast. He should be more cautious of committing Mr. Wheler, now he is no longer influenced by his pernicious counsel: that Gentleman is emancipated; and, having had time to think for himself, joins the Governor-General in all his plans for a peace; to obtain which honourably, you know, sir, [nations must shew a power to resist by war.

If Mr. Hastings did on his own private credit raise three or four lacks of rupees, and with so small a sum purchase the neutrality of so powerful a branch of the Maharatta Empire as the Rajah of Berar, and thereby enable Colonel
Pearce

Pearce to pass unmolested through not only his dominions, but also through the dominions of the Soubah of the Decan, and join Sir Eyre Coote on the Coast with such a noble reinforcement,—what words are strong enough in which to speak the praise due to such a noble effort of disinterested patriotism ! A Prince nearly connected, by every tie natural and religious, to the first Maharatta Power against whom we were in arms, and himself able to bring forty thousand horse into the field, has been bought off, by Mr. Francis's Account, for thirty or forty thousand pounds.—Cheap doings, these : I wish some of our European politicians could do such jobs so reasonably.

Par. 4. ' 5th. I cannot speak particularly of the bonded
' Debt at Fort Saint George ; but I have heard, from good
' Authority, that it amounted to the utmost they could
' borrow. One Fact, however, is necessary to be brought
' into your immediate Observation ; that whereas the
' Committee of Proprietors have taken Credit in their
' Report for out-standing Debts and Property at Fort
' Saint George, convertible into Cash, to the Amount
' of £ 1,380,083 : That whole Credit, or by far the
' greatest Part of it, is ideal. Their Expences are esti-
' mated by Sir Eyre Coote at above Seven Lacks of Ru-
' pees a Month, which, he declares, " must *all* come from
" Bengal, as there were no Resources in the Carnatic
" from which a single Pagoda was to be expected."

R E M A R K.

The statement of the Debts, due on bond at the different settlements, I shall admit to be accurate, though brought forward by Mr. Francis ; and shall only observe,
that

that the aggregate sum does not amount to what the Bengal bonded debt alone amounted to when Mr. Hastings came to the Government of that Country.

The annual revenues of Bengal alone amount to more than double the sum ; and, if we add that part of the Revenue of Oude which must, and always will, be applied to the payment of our army on the peace establishment, this bugbear of Mr. Francis will disappear insensibly in a year or two after the present troubles subside.— The Company's bonds, like our national funds, rise or fall in their value on a nearer or more distant prospect of a peace. I have known them formerly often above Par in the market ; nor is it ever but with reluctance that the Bond-holders at Bengal bring them in for payment ; and the Government may always reduce the interest to five per cent. which is not equivalent to more than two per cent. in Europe.

Par. 5. ' 6th. In Bengal, I am first to observe to you, that
 ' all the Establishments in the Civil Departments have
 ' been immoderately increased since Sir John Claverling's
 ' Death ; but these, however great in themselves, are not
 ' to be mentioned in Comparison with the Excess to
 ' which the Military Charges have been carried in the
 ' same Period. In the 28th Article of the Instructions
 ' which General Claverling, Colonel Monson, and I, carried out with us, in the Year 1774, the Company say,
 " Our Military Expences at Bengal having increased to
 " a Degree which is become *insupportable* to us ; we, in
 " an especial Manner, enjoin you to make strict Enquiry
 " into the Causes of such Increase, &c." At that Time,
 ' the Military Charge, which the Company called *insup-*
 ' *portable,*

' portable, as in Truth it was, did not exceed Eighty
 ' Lacks of Current Rupees per Annum; the Estimate of
 ' the same Establishment, for the Year ending in April
 ' last, amounted to Two hundred and Fourteen Lacks
 ' and an Half; and this Charge, I conclude, has in-
 ' creased in the current Year; I am sure it cannot have
 ' been diminished. I am unwilling to say any thing of
 ' the actual State of the Army, in regard to its effective
 ' Strength, compared with the Establishment, its Disci-
 ' pline, or the Punctuality with which the Native Troops
 ' are paid, because it would be going out of my own
 ' Department, and partly because I cannot give you
 ' Lights on this Subject, from my own direct Knowledge
 ' of it: Thus far, however, I think it my Duty to say,
 ' that from my own Observation, and from all the Infor-
 ' mation I have been able to collect, I have too much
 ' Reason to believe, that your Army actually wants a
 ' strict Inspection into its Discipline, and a vigorous
 ' Command over it; and that this is true in a Degree
 ' much beyond what you will be inclined to believe, or
 ' what I could make good. The Thing in its Nature is
 ' not capable of Proof in England; your Judgement there-
 ' fore must be guided and determined by your Opinion of
 ' the Veracity and Honour of those whom you consult.'

R E M A R K.

Mr. Francis would certainly have done wisely in saying
 nothing about the army, even on his own principles, his
 extreme ignorance on the subject: but there are other more
 weighty reasons, which having slipped his memory, I shall
 take the liberty to recal them to it.

At what period did this want of order and discipline commence? did it exist when General Clavering arrived in the country? if so, how came it to pass that that Gentleman during his life never saw the Bengal Army? His military pride would not suffer him to let Colonel Monson have the command of it until he himself should get into the Government. Was it of more consequence to the State and to the Company, that he should spend his time at Calcutta, endeavouring, by means shocking to think on, to drive Mr. Hastings out of the Government? When have the Bengal Army refused to do their duty? Are not their warlike exploits and military prowess the theme of every man in Europe and in Asia? Has there been a time when they flunk back from the charge, or rather did not court the occasion to be led up to the noses of thirty times their numbers, arranged in military array, hostile to the English banner? Where were the feelings of the *would-be-patriot* General, when he suffered such a Thing as Mr. Francis to cast such a reflection on the Bengal Army? Is this his mode of paying his court to a set of as brave officers as the world ever saw? — But they have done with Mr. Francis, and I trust will no more be in the way to be insulted by the General's insolence of manners: being secured from that is all they have to ask; their real contempt for such associates will do the rest.

General Sir Eyre Coote was the immediate successor appointed by the King and the Company to command the Asiatic Troops in general, and the Bengal Army in particular. Has that gallant Officer made any complaint of the want of spirit, order, or discipline, which he found in the Company's Troops? Has he not, with a mere handful
of

of them, chastised the Cesar of the East, or rather parliamentary bugbear, Hyder Ally? But it is not in the nature of a certain order of men to forgive a political sin. Sir Eyre voted against Mr. Francis in council, and that is a crime of such a dye as no length of time will wash out. I hope the Bengal officers, now in England, will signify their thanks to this clerk of the war-office for his opinion of them.

‘ 7th. In the Report of the Committee of Proprietors,
 ‘ I am sorry to observe, among several other exceptionable
 ‘ Articles, that Credit is taken for Outstanding Debts,
 ‘ due to the Company in Bengal, to the Amount of
 ‘ Current Rupees 77,22,548, and that this Sum makes
 ‘ Part of the final Balance of Pounds Sterling, supposed
 ‘ to be in Favour of the Company, just as much as the
 ‘ Money in your Treasury, or the Value of the Goods in
 ‘ your Warehouses, in London. I beg Leave to assure
 ‘ you, that these Debts, or the greatest Part of them, have
 ‘ stood for Years on the Company’s Books, and are be-
 ‘ lieved in Bengal to be desperate. I declare to you I
 ‘ never heard of a Debt of any Consequence being re-
 ‘ covered by the Company in India. If *these* Debts were
 ‘ of a recoverable Nature, it is to be presumed that a con-
 ‘ siderable, or at least some, Part of them, would have been
 ‘ recovered at a Time when the Governor-General and
 ‘ Council were trying every possible Expedient to borrow
 ‘ Money at an high Interest; But the Fact, on the con-
 ‘ trary, from a Comparison of the Accounts in my Pos-
 ‘ session, stands thus:

' 25th September 1779, Total Debts	} 108,21,543
' due to the Company, — —	
' 31st October 1780, Ditto, —	110,74,218
' Increase of Debts due to the Com- pany in those Thirteen Months,	} 2,52,675

R E M A R K.

Of the outstanding debts, on the desperate situation of which Mr. Francis expresses himself so feelingly, it is no less curious to observe his ignorance than to remark his malice. Outstanding debts, he says himself, are very seldom recovered in India, and gives an instance to prove that they increase yearly. Is it possible that this man can be ignorant, that, in the complicated character in which the Company stand of Lord Paramount, Farmers General, Collectors of the Revenue, Import and Export Merchants, and Military Store-keepers General, all which accounts pass their mercantile books, and must be productive of bad debts: is there any thing new in this? are they not obliged every year to write out to their servants at their several settlements, to write off to profit and loss such and such desperate debts? Had he been the least conversant in the Company's mercantile affairs, he could not have been ignorant of this fact; and that the servants abroad never do proceed to strike any head off their books without express orders from home. And, since they have been so deeply concerned in the politics of Asia, many millions have sunk that way, and more must be sunk every year; but the observation served to catch the eye of ignorance, and to give alarm, and that was all Mr. Francis meant:

meant : candid disquisition, or honest explanation he has always been a stranger to.

‘ 8th. Thus far, without descending to minuter Objects, I have confined myself to what I believe to be strictly the Facts, in stating to you the general Situation of your Affairs : My Opinion on some of them shall be laid before you, with the same Freedom and Sincerity.

‘ I find, with Concern, that a Habit begins to prevail in this Country, of sending out new Corps of Europeans for the Service in India. In my Judgement, and in that of all the Officers of Experience with whom I have conversed in Bengal, you would find it a much less expensive and a much more effectual Method of providing for that Branch of your Service, if you sent out Recruits sufficient to complete the European Regiments at the several Presidencies. The dividing those Regiments into Two Battalions each, when the Companies could not shew above Twenty-three Rank and File, was a most ill-adviced Measure, and produced many bad Effects, besides a very great Increase of Expence. When I left India, they wanted more than Half their Complement. Your Army in Bengal, if the Establishment be kept complete, is sufficiently numerous ; it does not want Field Officers, at least not many ; nor Captains, nor Subalterns ; in these Ranks, I believe your Army is as well supplied as any Service in that Country can require : But it does want Two or Three General Officers, Men of Activity, of Experience, and of established Reputations ; if possible, they should be in the Prime of Life, and as high in Point of personal Rank

‘ as

‘ as can be found; under *their* Inspections, your Establishments will be kept complete, and your Troops in general acquire as much Discipline and Vigour as an Indian Army is capable of, or as the Nature of that Service is likely to demand.’

R E M A R K.

Here we have him again in the field, confessedly out of his element. Have the officers trained up in the Company’s service shewn any want of ability, when they had, by rising gradually, come to the command of the army? Will he be content to abide by the event of every experiment which has yet been tried, and contrast General Clavering, General Monro, General Stuard, Colonel Lesley, Colonel Edgerton, with Lord Clive, General Joe Smith, General Caillaud, General Sir Robert Fletcher, General Sir Robert Barker, and General Thomas Goddard? I drop the General of the Committee, for fear of hurting his modesty, not well knowing in which list he would like best to be placed.

I am neither civilian nor soldier in the Company’s service; but am extremely hurt at observing the temper with which the Gentlemen, who fall under those descriptions of Company’s Servants, bear to be so grossly insulted, in the face of the Nation, by such a botch, such a carbuncle, on the vitals of Truth, as this quondam clerk of an office, whose soul has been shrivelled up like a winter’s pip-pin, and compressed, by the dirty employ of stopping six-pences, into the magnitude of a minikin pin’s head.

9th. With respect to your Connections or Differences with the Country Powers, I have already told you in what Estimation the English Name and Authority are universally held by those Powers. The Re-establishment of Peace in India, which in Effect is no more than reverting to your own original Principles, is now become indispensably necessary, not only to your Prosperity or to your Safety, but I say to your Existence. If the present Wars are to be continued, you can no more support the Consequences of Success than of Defeat: No Victory in India will ever again pay the Expence of the Army that gains it. I need not tell you, what effect another Defeat might produce. The Disaster which befel Colonel Bailie's Detachment, was felt in the most distant Parts of our Provinces: Another Event of the same Nature would, as I apprehend, go near to drive all the Sepoys out of your Service. — Before the late unfortunate Transactions on the Two Coasts, the Reputation of your Arms had supported your Credit and Influence throughout India. But that Reputation has been wantonly hazarded and severely wounded; and your Credit and Influence have accordingly sunk along with it. Peace then, at all Events, must be your Object. On this Point I can give you other Explanations, if they are desired; if not, I shall content myself with saying, that the Indian Powers have lost all Confidence in the Good Faith and Steadiness of the Government of Bengal.

R E M A R K.

We know, Mr. Francis, that you have, over and over again, told the Company and the Kingdom at large many most daring and fallacious stories of the estimation in which the

the English name is held by the different powers of Asia,—and I wonder that, as you must have taken your account from some interested Agent, it has not happened in one single instance that the man's own interest should operate so as to instruct you in a little truth.

Mr. P. The disaster which befel the little gallant body of men under the command of that excellent Officer, Colonel Bailie, was brought about by the (what shall I say) great Generalship of one of those kind of Officers of which you want to add a few more to the Company's troops—The defeat of the Bombay army happened whilst another of those heroes commanded it — but perhaps more immediately by that absurd policy which put the Civilian's coat so improperly on the military shoulders of General Clavering, and sunk poor Carnac from an excellent Officer into a field Committee-man. When you say that the country powers have lost all confidence in the good faith of the Government of Bengal, you should in justice have told us, that such want of confidence was never known before you and your colleagues arrived at Bengal, and that we removed it as soon as it was known that you had left it.—I instance that you have been so unlucky as to risque your whole credit upon the marching of Colonel Pearce's detachment through the dominions of the Rajah of Berar, of whose hostile intentions towards the English you have told such dismal stories; through the Soubah of the Decan's dominions, and the territories of his brother, with half a dozen other independent Rajahs and Zemindars, all of whom furnished him and his army on their march with every thing their country produced: which circumstance
gives

gives the direct denial to your gloomy predictions of the inimical disposition of the country powers to the English —And the repeated successes of our arms, under Coote, Carnac, Goddard, Popham, and several others, are such examples of the recovery of the credit of our military character in Asia, that I wonder the news of it has not induced you to go hang yourself.—This preservation of you, I suppose, we owe to the fostering care of the General of the Committee; who, rather than not try the experiment of revenging himself on those whom he deemed his enemies, would embark his small stock of credit in partnership with such an adventurer as Mr. Francis.

Par. 9. ' You cannot but be thoroughly possessed of my
' Opinion of the Injustice and Imprudence of all our Pro-
' ceedings with respect to the Marrattas: On this Subject
' you *now* have all the Evidence before you, that Argument
' and Reason, confirmed by the most ruinous Experience, are
' capable of furnishing. In attempting to support the Pre-
' tensions of Ragoba, and the Views of the Presidency of
' Bombay, you found the *unanimous* Opinion of the Go-
' vernor General and Council, that is, of Men who sel-
' dom agreed in other Points, decidedly against the Mea-
' sure. This was true at least in the Year 1775, though
' a different System has since prevailed in Bengal. I shall
' say nothing of the Conduct of Mr. Hastings's Negotia-
' tion with Moodajee Boosla. You see to what a State
' they have reduced us, and in what Conclusion they
' have ended. In my Judgment, the Principle, on
' which that Scheme was professedly founded, stood in
' Opposition to the obvious dictates of sound Policy and
' common Sense. After the Death of Madharow in 1772,

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' the

' the Union of that great Body, which constituted the
 ' Maratta Empire, was dissolved. The principal Chiefs
 ' set up for themselves, and no longer acknowledged any
 ' one common Superior; or, if they acknowledged the Su-
 ' periority of the Infant Peshwa, it was purely a Matter of
 ' Form. In this State, they naturally endeavoured to se-
 ' cure their respective Independance, by courting the
 ' Friendship, or at least by avoiding the Enmity, of the
 ' English Power. In what Sense could it possibly be our
 ' interest to restore the Union of an Empire so dissolved,
 ' supposing the Attempt practicable, or to vest its united
 ' Strength in the Hands of a single Person? In the Year
 ' 1778, they were so divided among themselves, that no-
 ' thing but our invading their Country, with the avowed
 ' Design of overturning their Government, could have
 ' made them act together. — Such was the Plan of Mr.
 ' Hastings's proposed Alliance with the Rajah of Berar, as
 ' it stands exhibited in his Instructions to the late Mr.
 ' Elliot, in July 1778, and in many other recorded Docu-
 ' ments. The same Plan included another Object, not
 ' less unwise in Point of Policy, and still more dangerous
 ' in the Execution than the first: I mean the Project of
 ' uniting with Moodajee Boosla, to invade the Dominions
 ' of Nizam Ally Khan, and to deprive him of a considerable
 ' Part of his Possessions. From this Project, which could
 ' not be long a Secret to the Nizam, the subsequent Union,
 ' which appears to have been concerted by him, between
 ' Hyder Ally, the Marrattas, Moodajee Booslah, and him-
 ' self, took its Origin. The Invasion and Ruin of the
 ' Carnatic sprung from the same Source; and, in Conclu-
 ' sion, the Rajah of Berar, for whose Advancement the Plan

is

' is professedly formed, joins in the Confederacy against
 ' us, and in Effect (though not yet avowedly when I left
 ' India) becomes one of the most dangerous Enemies we
 ' have to contend with. If this Confederacy should not
 ' be strong enough to maintain itself, and to accomplish
 ' the Designs of the Contracting Parties, whatever they
 ' may be, their last Resource will unquestionably be, to
 ' call in the French to their Assistance. — I will not tres-
 ' pass, Gentlemen, any longer on your Patience.—If Ob-
 ' jections are made to any thing advanced in this Paper, I
 ' believe I can answer them. If Explanations are wanted,
 ' I am ready to give them.—In entering so far as I have
 ' done into such a Detail, it is not my Purpose to criminate
 ' any Man, nor even to condemn Measures, merely for the
 ' Sake of condemning them. — Your Governments in
 ' India are actually involved in a Labyrinth of Difficulties.
 ' I therefore think it my Duty to trace to you the principal
 ' Steps by which you have been, imperceptibly to your-
 ' selves, misled into this Labyrinth; because I believe it to
 ' be the surest, if not the only Method you can take, to
 ' find you Way out of it.

P. Francis.'

R E M A R K.

I come now to the last paragraph of this famous letter,
 and I do assure you, Right Honourable Sir, that I am very
 glad of it; for, to labour through such a collection of
 dismal prophecies, unsupported assertions, and positive
 falsehoods, without one ray of truth on which to rest the
 mind for a moment on the way, is, as you will know, no
 easy task.—The hodge podge complexion of this take-leave

paragraph is so perplexed, from containing the effence of all the foregoing ones, that I shall limit my remarks on it to a single observation, or at most two.

In this part of his letter, Mr. Francis in some degree acquits Mr. Hastings of being the original cause of the Maharratta war. His reasons are obvious enough ; — because, another Committee from your House having the matter before them, it was more his immediate interest to speak truth than otherwise. But what will he say to his Agent Mac Intosh, whom he dispatched home the season before he came himself with frightful accounts of the Maharratta wars, Rohillo wars, and cargoes of other falsehoods against the Governor General, all which was issued out of his mint in Piccadilly. If he does not get something done to stop the mouth of that sable, predatory historian, he will most assuredly turn his black goose quill against his master ; for he is one of those Swiss-like penmen, who will undertake any cause ; and if I had any use for pamphlet-manufactures, I would certainly buy him over with the other half-crown.

Mr. Francis declares that he does not wish to criminate any man ; all he means is, that, as the Company's Affairs have been so twisted and twirled, interwoven and knotted together, in which unlucky situation he both found them, on his arrival in India, and left them when he came away, he cannot help offering his service to the Company and to Parliament, to endeavour to set them to rights again. Whether the experience the Company have already had of his services will induce them to trust their Affairs again in his hand, I do not know ; or whether you, Sir, and his Majesty's new Ministers, have in contemplation to cram him,

him, with others of his tribe, down the throats of the Company, as your predecessors in office did, you can best tell; but I know, that, if the present Proprietors of stock, and Directors of the Company, submit to swallow such a ministerial potion, I much question whether their constitution is now sufficiently strong to get the better of the poisonous effects of it; — because I suppose no man will expect their great Physician, Governor General Hastings, will prescribe for another seven years together the necessary antidotes to counteract its pernicious consequences.

I suppose, Sir, by your exhibiting of Mr. Francis's productions in the Report of the Committee, that you thought that you had an intelligent, a candid, and an honest, man, to deal with, and that you thereby was about to do a public benefit to society: I hope the clear and fair account which I have given you, attended by proofs in almost every Page, of his real conduct and character during his stay in India and since his arrival in England, will have weight enough with you to suspend your final judgment until he has fairly and honestly refuted the assertions and facts in this and my former letter.

I return with no small degree of reluctance to the part you have yourself taken in the compilation of the Report. That you had compiled it from the minutes of the Committee was one of the points in my former letter which I did not press so closely as I should have done had I then had so good authority for so doing as I have now. Your Chairman, Sir, has paid you some handsome compliments on the elegance of the performance, and the information

you

you helped him to ; and you, in your turn, rubbed down your honourable Chairman on his great industry and abilities.—This, Sir, with great patriots, is very well ; and hungry coffee-house politicians swallow down the condescending complaisance of the two great men, and approve, in senators, what, amongst honest tradesmen, such as themselves, they would call the most fulsome flattery. —

I, Sir, have read both your Reports, over and over again, with an eye to the discovery of truth, however it might be enveloped by eloquence ; and I am bold again to declare, in the face of the whole kingdom, that, when you penned the reflections and insinuations quoted in my former Letter, from page 49 of your last Report, you had not truth for your landmark. Captain Cowe is the only one person, in seven very intelligent and very honourable witnesses, who speaks the least word about its being the opinion of some people that the execution of the Rajah NUNDCOMAR was a political measure ; nor would his saying so have been admitted as evidence in any other place. The words, Sir, were not his own : they had been put into his mouth by the person who examined him ; yet, dreadful to think of, this *no Evidence* has induced you to throw out the most severe and cruel aspersions on the characters of his Majesty's Judges and the Governor-General of Bengal. If asserting what I feel to be truth shall be construed into Scandalum magnatum, call me and try me on the merits : I shall be nothing backward to appear.

I am, Right Honourable Sir,

With all due Respect,

Your most obedient Servant,

Borough, Apr. 18, 1782.

The AUTHOR.

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T.

What a world is this we live in: I can boast some friends, and to those friends I must seriously appeal, to know, if they think that I have an enemy in the world, who has been made so, by any other means than a strong habit of speaking and writing truths, which wound the ear of some notorious culprit or public peculator; yet these friends write me, in terms rather too harsh for friendship, that, by meddling at all in this business, I have hurt the political interests of Governor Hastings. I never once thought of the Governor: I honour the private virtues of the man; and observing, that scandal had made its way into the Senate House, where his moral character lay stretched on the rack, ready to be offered up, to glut the revenge of men, who hate him for his virtues and his abilities, it broke in upon my rest, and I rushed forward, (perhaps with too little ceremony) to ward the blow, or break its violence; for which, if I am deserted by those I esteem.—I say with Pope,

Welcome for thee, fair Virtue, all the past:
For thee, fair Virtue, welcome even the last.

T H E E N D.

POSTSCRIPT.

What a world is this in! I can find some
friends, and to each friend a friendly appeal, to
know, if they think that I have any in the world,
who has been made so by any other means than a long
habit of speaking and writing, and who would the
ear of some no more could it or public scrutiny, yet this
friend writes me, in a letter rather too plain for friendship,
that, by meddling at all in this business, I have hurt the
political interests of Governor Livingston. I have a
thought of the Governor; I honour the private virtues of
the man, and of living, that scandal had made its way
into the Senate House, where his modest character lay
frictioned on the rock, ready to be offered up to the
revengeful man, who hate him for his virtues and his
abilities, it broke in upon my rest, and I retired for-
ward, perhaps with too little ceremony, to ward the
blow, or break its violence; for which I am indebted
to those I have named, for who I am sure

Will come for me, for I am sure, all the best;
for I am, fair I am, welcome even to the best.

THE END